

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO ENQUIRE
INTO CERTAIN ASPECTS OF OPIUM AND GANJA
CONSUMPTION.

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The appointment of this committee was made in the proceedings of the Chief Commissioner in the Municipal Department, No. 5229M., dated the 10th December 1912. The Committee was directed to enquire in particular into the following matters:—

I.—As regards opium:—

- (i) The extent to which opium smoking is prevalent, whether or not consumption in this form is increasing, and, in particular, to extent to which it is practised in public gatherings.
- (ii) The measures which should be undertaken in order to suppress the habit of opium smoking in company; the probable result of such measures including the extent to which they are likely to be effectual and the light in which they will be viewed by the people themselves, as well as the extra establishment—excise or police—which may be necessary to enforce prohibition of opium smoking in company.
- (iii) The extent to which a moderate limit of consumption is exceeded by opium eaters or smokers and the classes, if any, amongst whom excess is prevalent.
- (iv) The extent to which further restrictions on the sale of opium would involve danger of diverting consumption to more deleterious stimulants.
- (v) The applicability of a system of registration of opium consumers to Assam and the extent to which such a system would be supported by public opinion.
- (vi) The suggestions made in the Government of India Resolution, *viz*:—
 - (a) the reduction of the maximum limit of private possession of opium smoking preparations;
 - (b) the reduction of the maximum limit of possession of opium;
 - (c) the enhancement of the treasury issue price;
 - (d) minor reforms, such as the reduction of the number of shop, further restriction of the hours of sale, and raising of the purchaser's minimum age.

II.—As regards ganja:—

- (i) The causes of the rice in consumption since 1907-08, and the classes who have been responsible therefor.
- (ii) The extent to which a moderate limit of ganja consumption is exceeded and the classes amongst whom excess is prevalent.
- (iii) The desirability of further restrictions, such as the reduction of the number of shops, the enhancement of duty, and the reduction of the maximum limit of possession.
- (iv) The reality of the supposed danger that further restrictions on ganja would lead to increased consumption of wild *bhang*, and the extent to which at present wild *bhang* is consumed.

2. The Committee met and commenced the examination of witnesses at Gauhati on January 6th. Witnesses were examined at Gauhati, Nalbari, and Barpeta in Kamrup; at Kalaigaon, Mangaldai, Tezpur, and Behali in Darrang; at Dibrugarh and Dumduma in Lakhimpur; at Dakshinpat, Sonari (for Lakhimpur as well as for Sibsagar), Nazira, Sibsagar, Jorhat, Golaghat, and Dimapur in Sibsagar; and at Kampur and Nowgong in the Nowgong district. Four hundred and eighty-two witnesses as detailed in the margin were examined orally. The Commissioner of the Assam Valley Division, the Deputy Commissioners of the five districts concerned, all managers of tea gardens, and the

Officials	...	...	...	45
Missionaries	...	...	...	3
Planters	...	...	...	4
Landholders	...	...	...	11
Pleaders and mukhtears	...	...	...	24
Schoolmasters	...	...	...	8
Contractors and private employ-ees	...	...	...	15
Traders and shopkeepers	...	...	...	26
Mauzadars	...	...	...	81
Gaonburas	...	...	...	126
Opium and ganjas vendors	...	...	...	37
Cultivators	...	...	...	74
Servants and day-labourers	...	...	...	14
Others	...	...	...	14
Total	...	...	...	482

Adhikar Gossains of the three leading *Sattras* were consulted by letter. The Committee finally separated on the 27th February.

II.—Opium.

3. Amongst those who take to opium for pleasure only, and not as a remedy for some specific disease, consumption in the form of smoking is almost universal to this extent, that almost all smoke in the first instance and only take to other form of consumption after they become confirmed opium takers and find that they cannot afford the time or the money required for smoking. On this point the evidence is unanimous and conclusive. It is more difficult to get an accurate estimate of the relative proportions at any one time of those who smoke and those who consume in other ways. This depends largely on the general prosperity of the consuming classes. When times are good and money easy to obtain, smokers do not feel the pinch so soon as when times are bad, and the stage at which smoking has to be given up and the less expensive form of consuming the drug substituted is postponed. Similarly, the poorer classes have to give up smoking sooner than those who are fairly well-to-do. Probably over the five districts one-half would be a moderate estimate of the proportion of those now smoking to the total number of consumers. Many witnesses place the proportion much higher, but it is likely that their estimate is exaggerated, partly because the evils of smoking bulk large in their view, and partly because they are apt to confuse the number of those who have been smokers with the number of those who are at the present time smokers. From the reports of managers it appears that the proportion of smokers to opium eaters is much the same on tea gardens as amongst the indigenous population.

4. It is to be noted that the form of opium smoking everywhere prevalent in Assam is that known in other parts of India as "*madak*." The opium is boiled down with a little water to the consistency of a paste and then mixed with the shredded and fried leaves of betel, or less commonly, guava or other plants. The form known as "*chandu*" does not exist in Assam. Opium smoking is generally looked on with more disapproval than opium eating, partly because it is considered to be more injurious, and partly because it is far more expensive both in time and money. The process of preparation is a long one, and the actual smoking naturally takes longer than swallowing a mixture of opium and water, and the consequence is that the working day of the opium smoker is very contracted. The difference in expense between the two forms of consumption is shown in the statement of witnesses No. 197 (no doubt an extreme case), who required $\frac{3}{4}$ tola daily as a smoker, and is now content with eating $\frac{1}{8}$ th tola daily.

5. Opium smoking has undoubtedly increased very largely in Assam since the prohibition of poppy cultivation in 1860. Witness No. 321—a "*Dewan*" of the Assam Company whose memory goes back to that time and who is a reliable witness,—says that only about five per cent. of the consumers at that time were smokers. Probably the form in which opium was then commonly manufactured (the rags—*kani*—on which the juice was wiped from the poppy heads being simply stored for use when required) was not convenient for this form of consumption. The habit is not increasing—as compared with opium eating—now, because it has already reached the maximum and practically every consumer smokes, if he can afford to do so.

6. The habit is very commonly practised in company. There is nothing of the nature of regular "*Opium dens*," but smokers frequently meet in the house of one or other of their number, and smoke together. There is a good deal of evidence that these smoking parties are looked on with disfavour. One reason is that at such meetings young men commonly acquire the opium habit; and another is that these parties of smokers are not infrequently suspected of being responsible for organizing petty thefts in the village in order to get the means for indulging in the luxury. The habit is increasingly common at such social gatherings as marriages and funerals, at which fashion requires opium to be distributed for the use of opium consumers. Of recent years also a ceremony purporting to be of a semi-religious nature—the *Kani Seba*—has been introduced amongst the more ignorant classes, at which opium consumers are assembled and opium distributed with the object of averting sickness or other impending trouble. The distribution and consumption of opium is also common at *Namgoa* or religious services. The semi-religious uses of the drug appear to be purely the invention of interested opium consumers, and to have no authority in the *shattras*. They are reprobated even when acquiesced in by the better classes and they undoubtedly set a bad example to the young and tend to spread the opium habit.

7. In the Resolution of the 19th August 1912 the Government of India explains

(ii) The measures which should be undertaken in order to suppress the habit of opium smoking in company, the probable result of such measures including the extent to which they are likely to be effectual and the light in which they will be viewed by the people themselves, as well as the extra establishment—Excise or Police—which may be necessary to enforce prohibition of opium smoking in company.

the action which it desires should be taken to suppress all public gatherings for the purpose of smoking opium. "The Government of India have no desire to dictate to Legislative Councils the exact form which legislation should take, but it should, they think, be provided that an assembly of three or more persons for the purpose of smoking opium should be declared illegal, no exception being made in favour of members of the same family, and that the presence of opium smoking pipes, or other apparatus, or of any quantities of smoking preparations, either singly or in combination, should be held sufficient of an intention to smoke opium. They further consider that the working of such legislation should be entrusted, wherever possible, to excise officials rather than to the police."

8. The Committee inclines to the opinion that the proposed prohibition should extend even to two persons smoking together, an exception being made only in the case of husband and wife. If two persons are allowed to smoke together, an old consumer can initiate a beginner with impunity, and the Committee thinks that the risk of contagion would be considerably reduced by extending the prohibition in the way it proposes. Possibly also the measure might be more intelligible to the masses in the form proposed by the Committee. The ordinary villager will understand the object of forbidding smoking in company; but it is doubtful if he could be made to understand why it should be legal for two, but illegal for three, persons to smoke together.

9. The Committee suggests that the proposed legislation should include a provision by which persons who habitually smoke in company may be bound over to abstain from the habit.

10. Mr. H. A. C. Colquhoun, Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup, presents an aspect of the question which deserves consideration. He points out that in Kamrup opium is steadily giving way to *ganja*; he doubts whether the conditions there are such as to call for any restrictive measures against opium, and he thinks that the object of legislation (so far as Kamrup is concerned) should be to discourage *ganja* rather than opium. The Committee is inclined to agree with him. Over the greater part of Kamrup, opium is certainly being replaced by *ganja*, and the imposition on opium of restrictions from which *Gonia* is free might easily accelerate the tendency. A similar restriction on *ganja* smoking in company—if such be suggested in order to equalise the position—would be a harsher measure than the prohibition in the case of opium, because *ganja* consumers smoking in company pass round a single *chillam*, and the charge of *ganja* is not increased in proportion to the number partaking, whereas opium smokers, ordinarily at any rate, smoke independently even when in company. The Committee think therefore that the provisions of the proposed legislation should be made applicable only to such areas to which they may from time to time be extended, Messrs. B. C. Allen and A. R. Edwards, Deputy Commissioners of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Darrang, think that an exception should be made in favour of members of the same household, on the ground that the prohibition in such cases would be unintelligible to the consumers themselves and would be impossible to enforce. *Gaonburas* and other uneducated villagers examined by the Committee had no difficulty in grasping the object of the proposed prohibition, and the Committee does not apprehend serious danger of misunderstanding. The enforcement will undoubtedly be difficult: but any exception in favour of members of the same family (except in the case of husband and wife) would be likely to defeat the object of the restriction, and would increase the difficulties of enforcement in one direction, even though it lightened them in another.

11. The Committee agrees that it is not desirable to employ the police in enforcing these measures, nor does it recommend the appointment of any additional excise establishment for the purpose. The excise establishment should be brought up—where it is deficient—to the level required for general excise purposes, and village officials should be utilised as far as possible in suppressing opium smoking in company. The proposed prohibition will result in little real hardship to those who indulge in the habit. They will still be able to smoke alone or to consume the drug in other ways; and the fact that sooner or later nearly every smoker does at present give up smoking and take to drinking opium shows that the substitution of one form of consumption for the other is not a matter of great difficulty. Moreover, the smoking habit is generally looked on with disapproval even by opium consumers. It may therefore be expected that

amongst a people so law-abiding as the Assamese, the mere prohibition of smoking in company will have some considerable effect in checking the practice. *Gaonburas* should be required to report breaches of the law through *mauzadars*; and both *mauzadars* and *gaonburas* should be made to understand that the law is not to be treated as a dead letter. If any system of village councils is introduced into the Assam Valley, the Committee thinks that the enforcement of the prohibition should be entrusted to such bodies.

12. In considering the extent to which excess in opium taking is prevalent, the Committee, as was to be expected, is confronted by a mass of conflicting evidence. At opposite extremes are the views of witness No. 310—a Bengali pleader long resident in Assam—that 95 per cent. of consumers suffer in health, as well as in pocket, from the habit, and of No. 368—a *mauzadar* speaking of his own *mauza* only—that none of the consumers have been injured. Generally speaking, the educated residents in towns say that excess is common, whilst persons residing in the *mufassil*, from *mauzadars* downwards, hold that it is rare. In estimating the value to be attached to these respective views, it has to be remembered that the opium habit is now-a-days almost extinct amongst the educated class (*vide* evidence of witness No. 377—Rai Sahib Dondadhar Barua). Educated witnesses, therefore, unless their duties bring them much in contact with the consuming classes, have comparatively little first-hand knowledge of the habit, and what they have is derived largely from the observation of consumers from the lower strata of town life, which might be expected to yield a larger proportion of excess than the community generally. Moreover, the subject is naturally one which lends itself to exaggeration; and the combination of a lack of first-hand knowledge of the habit with a praiseworthy ardour for the reformation of abuses can only give rise to exaggerated views. Mr. D. P. Copeland, Deputy Conservator of Forests (witness No. 16), with 35 years' service in Assam and with much experience of the opium-consuming classes, says:—"Nearly all take opium in moderation. There are very few *Ber-Kaniyas*, perhaps 3 or 4 per cent. I consider that the rest of them take no harm whatever from the drug. I call it a harmless vice." Witness No. 340—a *mauzadar*—says:—"Opium has not done much harm to the Assamese; it has not done them any good." No. 110—a *muktear*—says:—"The majority of opium consumers are moderate; and it is only a small minority which goes to excess, and suffers harm." Srijut Bhawani Charan Bhattacharjya, an Honorary Magistrate of Tezpur and an *ex-tahsildar*, 70 years of age, says that moderation is the rule amongst all classes and excess the exception. That moderation is not only possible, but common was evident from the appearance of the great majority of *gaonburas* who appeared before the Committee. Most of these were consumers of opium, but it was the exception to find among them any appreciable appearance of injury from the habit. The Committee made special enquiries as to the existence and number of cases in which persons have been absolutely wrecked in health through over-indulgence in the drug. The great majority of witnesses replied that they knew no such instances, and where instances were cited, it not infrequently transpired that the victim had been broken down by disease (in one case he had a congenital deformity, *vide* No. 39) before taken to opium at all. More than one of the answers displayed the tendency to exaggeration referred to above. Witness No. 209, for instance, cited two instances, but the victims, on production before the Committee, were found to be hale and hearty old men! That such instances sometimes occur the Committee does not doubt, but it is satisfied that they must be very rare.

13. The conclusion at which the Committee arrived is as follows:—Instances in which opium has had an extremely serious effect—and effect which might be called "terrible"—on the consumer are very rare and occur almost entirely (1) amongst smokers, and (2) amongst those who acquire the habit before maturity. A moderate limit of consumption is rarely exceeded amongst those who eat or drink opium. Amongst smokers of all classes there is a strong tendency to excess in so far that the habit wastes more time and money than most consumers can afford, and that it induces indolence which, in conjunction with the waste of time and money, reduces them to poverty, which in its turn has an injurious effect on their health. In the majority of cases smokers are physically and in capacity for work inferior to non-consumers. Amongst the more primitive and ignorant classes—such as Mikirs, Kacharis, Matakas, and low class Ahoms—the tendency to excess grows as increased means give greater opportunity of indulgence.

14. The average daily consumption seems about $\frac{1}{2}$ tola—rather less in the case of eaters and rather more in the case of smokers. It is difficult to say how much may be taken without injurious effect, as it depends partly on the constitution of the consumer and partly on his ability to supply himself with nourishing food. The highest individual

consumption of which the Committee was informed was 1 tola daily, and daily consumption of half a tola is unusually large. Witness No. 313—a Keot by caste and a cultivator—drinks this amount daily, and shows no sign of being harmed by it. A quarter of a tola would seem to be the outside limit of safe consumption for most people.

15. The Committee is satisfied that severe restrictions on opium, without similar restrictions on *ganja*, would divert consumption from opium to *ganja*. This process has already advanced far in Kamrup, where the younger generation is taking to *ganja* instead of to opium. All the Kamrup witnesses agree that the opium habit is declining amongst the Hindu Assamese of that district, and that the *ganja* habit is fast increasing amongst the same class. The consumption of *ganja* in the district increased from 68 maunds in 1904-05 to 123 maunds in 1909-10, and the evidence is that the increase is mainly due to the Assamese. Witness No. 25—a retired tahsildar living in the interior of the district—goes so far as to say that all cultivators amongst the Assamese smoke *ganja*. The same process is to be seen, though at present not to the same extent, in Darrang, Sibsagar, and Nowgong, and it is not entirely absent in Lakhimpur. Apart from the comparative injuriousness of opium and *ganja*, there is a special danger from the latter drug in that it has certain religious associations, and its use, whether for that reason or because its injurious effects are less appreciated than those of opium, carries far less opprobrium even amongst the higher and more educated classes than that of opium. Instances are quoted (*vide* witnesses 11 and 12) of opium consumers exchanging the use of opium for that of *ganja*, but such cases are not common, and the danger is lest the rising generation of classes which have been accustomed to opium should take to *ganja*.

16. In the case of aboriginal races such as Mikirs, Kacharis, Miris, Lalungs, and of certain Assamese castes such as Deodhais, Chaodangs, and low caste Ahoms, consumption is likely to be diverted to alcohol rather than to *ganja*. All these are liquor drinkers at present, but there is evidence that opium consumers amongst them drink less liquor than those who have not acquired the opium habit.

17. The Committee is unable to overlook the danger of the cocaine and morphia habits being introduced, in case severe restrictions are placed on the stimulants now indulged in. Those vices are at present unknown in Assam, but looking to the amount of the drugs smuggled into Burma, the Committee is of opinion that the probability of their introduction into Assam would have to be faced, if the use of the better known stimulants were prohibited or unduly restricted.

18. Most of the educated witnesses examined advocated a system of "registration" of opium consumers. A few of them trust to registration in itself, in the expectation that a stigma will attach to registration, and will act as a deterrent. In most cases, however, it is proposed that only existing consumers and such others as may be advised to take the drug by competent medical authority, shall be registered and allowed to take opium; the system advocated by these is thus prohibition, except for existing consumers and for such others as require the drug medicinally. The demand for so severe a measure is based on the supposition that the consumption of the drug is rapidly increasing and that the measures hitherto taken by Government to check it have proved inadequate. It is necessary therefore to examine the history of opium consumption.

19. The consumption in each of the five districts from 1878-79 (the earliest year for which the Committee has been able to get district figures) is given in Appendix I. From 1878-79 to 1882-83 consumption varied from about 1,500 to 1,600 maunds. In 1882-83 the treasury price was raised from Rs. 26 to Rs. 32 per seer, and consumption fell to something under 1,350 maunds, at which it remained till the next enhancement of the treasury price to Rs. 37 per seer in 1890-91, whereupon it was further reduced to under 1,300 maunds. A steady decrease then set in, owing to the series of calamities which the Assam Valley suffered during the nineties. "Public" health was bad and the *kala-azar* epidemic carried off many tens of thousands. Between 1891 and 1901 the indigenous population decreased by some 115,000, or by 6½ per cent. The disastrous earthquake of 1897 brought in its train destructive floods of unusual severity. All these unfavourable causes led to a high death rate, a decrease of the indigenous or consuming population, a decrease in their cultivation, and decline in the purchasing power of the agricultural classes" (Eastern Bengal and Assam Excise Report for 1909-10). Finally, 1901-02 was a year of scarcity from drought, and in this year consumption in the five districts was as low as 1,126 maunds. From 1902-03 onwards conditions improved steadily, and the consumption of opium recovered

gradually till 1904-05. The subsequent years have been years of prosperity. Crops have been generally good, and the prevailing high prices combined with the prosperous state of the tea industry, the expansion of the coal and oil industries and the extension of railways have placed the Assamese cultivators in a particularly favourable position. The indigenous population between 1901 and 1911 more than made up its losses of the preceding decade. One result was a very rapid increase of opium consumption from 1,276 maunds in 1904-05 to 1550 maunds in 1907-08. From 1906-07 to 1908-09, the number of opium shops in the five districts was reduced by about a hundred a year, and in 1909-10 the treasury price of opium was raised from Rs. 37 to Rs. 40 a seer. Consumption fell to under 1,400 māūds, and it has since scarcely varied. Thus:—

- (1) Consumption during the last six years, which have been years of prosperity, has decreased by 10 per cent.
- (2) The several enhancements of the treasury price combined with a reduction of the number of shops have had a marked effect in reducing consumption.
- (3) Consumption now is 10 per cent. less than the average from 1878-79 to 1882-83, and is about 4 per cent. higher than the average from 1883-84 to 1889-90. Considering the increase of the population and the prosperity of the last few years, this cannot be considered an alarming state of affairs. The low consumption during the nineties was due to exceptional economic causes, as explained above, and cannot be expected to be maintained now that the economic causes have ceased to exist.

The Committee therefore agrees that there is nothing in the present situation which calls for so severe a measure as prohibition.

20. The system outlined by most of the witnesses who advocate "registration" is very much that which has been in force in Burma since 1893-94. Male Burmans who were consumers of opium and who had attained the age of 25 years were permitted to register their names, and only registered consumers are allowed to purchase a restricted amount of opium at the licensed shops. Additional registrations are not allowed. In estimating the applicability of such a system to Assam, it is well to consider the circumstances which existed in Burma and the reasons which there led to exceptionally severe measures. These are stated in paragraphs 235 to 239 of the Report of the Royal Commission on Opium (1895). They were briefly as follows:—

- (1) The use of opium was prohibited by the Buddhist religion and was in practice strongly discountenanced by national sentiment.
- (2) The Burmans were, owing to a difference in mind or character, more often injured physically or morally by opium than were Indians.
- (3) The opium habit was not an old custom with the Burmans, and it was increasing with extraordinary rapidity, the consumption rising by 230 per cent. between 1870-71 and 1890-91, whilst the population increased only by 63 per cent.

These conditions are totally absent in Assam. The use of opium is at any rate not incompatible with the religion of the great majority of Assamese, as is evidenced by its frequent and increasing use in *Namgaos* or religious services, nor is it discountenanced by national sentiment. It is true that the educated minority now disapprove of it, but very few of them discountenance it. Even educated Assamese give in, against their better judgment, to the fashion of providing opium at marriages and similar festivals (witness No. 160). A leading light in the educational world (witness No. 362) tells a story, with the object of showing the venality of the professional opium vendor, which shows still more clearly how little even the most educated Assamese "discountenance" the habit.

21. Then, again, the system would be a far heavier undertaking in Assam than it is in Burma, and the Committee gathers that it has not been a light one in Burma. The number of Burman consumers registered in 1893-94 and 1900-03 (when the registers were re-opened to permit the registration of persons who might have registered their names, but omitted to do so in 1893-94) was 34,000. Allowing an average daily consumption of $\frac{1}{2}$ tola per head, the present consumption in the five upper districts of the Assam Valley is sufficient for over 99,000 consumers. Again, apart from the flood of smuggled opium which would be poured into Assam as it is now poured into Burma, from India, the geographical position of Assam, surrounded by mountain tribes, most of whom understand the manufacture of opium, would render it a matter of the greatest difficulty to keep out illicit supplies of the drug. The advocates of registration propose to remove some of the difficulties of working by the substitution of a system of

selection of salaried salesmen from men of position and respectability for the existing system of public auction. The Government of India, in paragraph 6 of the Resolution of 19th August last, definitely refused to countenance any system of official vend, and the Committee do not think it necessary to discuss the proposal. The following figures of seizures of drugs smuggled into Burma, taken from the Burma Excise Report, give an indication of what might be expected in Assam in case a severely repressive policy were introduced :—

	Opium.	Ganja.	Morphia.	Cocaine.
1	2	3	4	5
	Seers.	Seers.	Oz.	Oz.
1909-10	1,483	1,044	648	1,958
1910-11	1,665	971	1,026	3,244
1911-12	1,713	1,271	477	2,359

As to the results which have been effected in Burma, in the Resolution on the Excise Report of 1909-10, the Lieutenant-Governor was "glad to note that it is again recorded that it is the general opinion of the District Officers that the taste for opium is not on the increase amongst the Burmans, and that in some districts there are believed to be fewer consumers than in past years."

22. Most witnesses were ready to agree that a system of restrictive registration was desirable. The small extent, however, to which even the educated classes discountenance the opium habit at present shows that the support which any severe measures would obtain from public opinion would not be considerable. In this connection the proceedings of an Anti-opium Conference held at Dibrugarh in 1907, and the action taken thereon, are instructive. Two measures were resolved on with the object of combating the evils attendant on the use of opium. One was to submit a memorial to Government, asking for the habit to be checked; the other was to form an "Assam Temperance Association" with permanent committees in each town and subdivision of the Valley. The first measure has been carried out; but nothing whatever has been done towards putting the second into effect.

23. Whilst agreeing that any system of restrictive registration is not necessary or practicable in Assam, Rai Bahadur Kali Prasad Chaliha, Khan Bahadur Kutubuddin Ahmad, and Srijut Radhanath Phukan are in favour of a system of simple registration, without any restriction (except one of age) on the registration of new consumers or on the quantity of opium to be allowed to each consumer. They propose that only persons who have attained the age of 20 should be registered, and the object of their proposal is to prevent the consumption of opium by minors. The Rai Bahadur, however, is the only member of the Committee who considers that the habit is sufficiently prevalent amongst boys to call for some special measure of prevention. The other two members do not regard the evil as at present widespread, but consider that precautions should be taken to prevent it becoming so. The President agrees with the majority that the evil has not been proved to be a common one amongst boys, and he does not think that the elaborate machinery of registration should be established in order to remedy an evil which is not at present a serious one, and which, so far as it does exist, is likely to be largely checked by the prohibition of smoking in company. Registration, however, to this extent (apart from restriction of issues or from prohibition), would not be a very serious undertaking.

24. The Committee has considered the suggestions considered in paragraph 5 to 9 of the Government of India Resolution dated the

(vi) The suggestions made in the Government of India Resolution, viz.—

- (a) the reduction of the maximum limit of private possession of opium smoking preparations;
- (b) the reduction of the maximum limit of possession of opium.

19th August 1912. It does not consider that there is anything to be gained by reducing the present limit of possession of smoking preparations (1 tola). One tola of the preparation must contain considerably less than one tola of opium. The preparation is ordinarily prepared fresh by the consumer himself. One tola is certainly more than daily requirement of the ordinary smoker, but the difficulty of enforcing the restriction is great, and the

Committee therefore thinks it better that the limit should remain at a figure at which infringements are rare. The limit of possession of opium has recently been reduced from 5 to 3 tolas, and no further reduction is called for at present. A smaller limit than 3 tolas would involve undue hardship on consumers in areas such as the Mikir Hills, where the distance between shops is large.

25. The treasury issue price is, in the opinion of the Committee, capable of further enhancement in the four upper districts of the Valley.

(c) The enhancement of the treasury issue price. The Committee thinks that it may be raised sufficiently to push the retail price up to a minimum of 12 annas a tola.

26. The number of shops in the five districts has been very largely reduced of late

(d) Minor reforms such as the reduction of the number of shops further restrictions of the hours of sales, and raising of the purchaser's minimum age.

years, as will be seen from the following figures:—

Year.						Number of shops.
1878-79	...	...	...	...	...	1,116
1888-89	...	...	...	...	...	850
1898-99	...	...	...	...	...	602
1902-03	...	...	...	...	...	685
1906-07	...	...	...	...	...	632
1907-08	...	...	...	...	...	537
1908-09	...	...	...	...	...	427
1909-10	...	...	...	...	...	381
1910-11	...	...	...	...	...	255
1911-12	...	...	...	...	...	347

The Committee thinks that no further reduction is desirable in Kamrup and Lakhimpur, and not very much in Sibsagar and Darrang. In Nowgong, however, the number of shops is still comparatively high, and in several cases there are shops within 3 or 4 miles of one another. In this district there seems to be room for immediate reduction.

27. Further restriction of the hours of sale is not expected by the Committee to have any effect in the case either of opium or *ganja*.

28. The minimum age at which a person can legally purchase opium is at present 14. Owing to the difficulty of proving age to a year, this probably means that vendors can safely sell to any boy of about 13 or upwards. The Committee thinks that the minimum age for purchasers might be raised as high as 20, which would mean in practice that vendors would be unable to sell to boys under 18 without risk of conviction.

29. Finally, the Committee ventures to endorse the second resolution of the Dibrugarh Anti-opium Conference of 1907, namely, that a Temperance Association should be organized to educate public opinion in Assam in connection with the use of intoxicants. As long as the demand for intoxicants exists, the stoppage or the excessive restriction of the licit supply would only mean the substitution of an illicit supply. The Committee thinks that the only sound method of finally dealing with the opium evil is by removing the demand, and this can only be effected by the efforts of the Assamese themselves.

III—*Ganja*.

30. The most obvious cause of the increase in the consumption of *ganja* during the

(e) The causes of the rise in consumption since 1907-08 and the classes who have been responsible therefor.

last few years is the increase of the foreign population, from whom up to recent years the great majority of the consumers were drawn. The foreign population, however, increased only by 35·14 per cent. between 1901 and 1911, whilst the increase in the consumption of *ganja* amounted to 88 per cent. Good times and higher wages on the tea gardens are doubtless also responsible for a portion of the increase, but the statements made to the Committee leave no doubt that there has been of recent years a very marked increase of consumption of *ganja* amongst the Assamese Hindus

of all castes and classes. Over the whole of Kamrup, with the exception of the Kachari mauzas, the *ganja* habit has practically replaced the opium habit amongst the rising generation. Witness No. 36—a mauzadar—says that 90 per cent. of the adult males in his mauza take *ganja*. Another mauzadar—witness No. 23—also states that 90 per cent. of Hindu males over the age of 15 or 16 are *ganja* smokers. Witness No. 1—Srijut Bipin Chandra Bardalai, a Sub-Deputy Collector, whose home is in the district and who is in charge of a circle there—states that the cultivating classes of Hindu Assamese are responsible for the increased consumption in the district. In the Barpeta subdivision the habit is particularly common amongst boatmen and traders, who do a considerable amount of travelling by boat. The excuse given by them is that the drug assists them to bear fatigue and exposure, but the habit is also common amongst the cultivating classes in other parts of the district, who have not the same excuse. A Barpeta mauzadar (witness No. 52) says:—“Opium consumption is going down in my mauza, because knowing the evil effects of opium people are taking to *ganja*.” Witness No. 5—a pleader of Gauhati—says:—“I see many Assamese of some position smoking *ganja* openly without shame.” In other districts the same tendency is visible, but to a less extent. In Darrang witness No. 107—a Mangaldai muktear—says:—“The *ganja* habit has increased amongst the younger generation of Hindu Assamese.” Witness No. 181—a mauzadar of Tezpur Sadr subdivision—states that all castes, but chiefly Doms, are taking to *ganja*. In Sibsagar Srijut Tritheswar Phukan, of Sibsagar town, aged 60, says:—“Formerly the Assamese used to smoke wild *bhang* and also excise *ganja* to a lesser extent. Now they smoke more and they smoke excise *ganja* only.” Srijut Hari Prasad Dewan of Nazira (witness No. 321) says:—“The *ganja* habit has penetrated all classes and castes amongst the Assamese.” In Nowgong Srijut Santiram Hazarika, Honorary Magistrate, and a man of 61 years of age, says that the upper class Assamese are giving up opium and taking to *ganja*. Witness No. 469—an Inspector of Police—says that the *ganja* habit is prevalent amongst the cultivating class of Assamese. The habit appears to have made less progress in Lakhimpur than in the other districts, but most witnesses agree that it is growing even there amongst the lower classes, and the evidence of witness No. 225—a Pleader of Dibrugarh—is instructive:—“I think there has been some increase of the *ganja* habit amongst the educated Assamese. There has been some consumption of spirit amongst educated Assamese, and I think there is a tendency for this to give way to *ganja*, as the *ganja* habit is more easily indulged in secretly.” These are only samples of the evidence before the Committee regarding the increase of the habit amongst Assamese, and there is a mass of other statements to the same effect. The increase has been largest amongst Nadial Charals, and Hiras, who take the drug (or profess to do so) as a protection against exposure; but it has also been very marked amongst the higher castes, who take it purely as a luxury. There is no doubt that the upper class Assamese regards *ganja* as a less disreputable vice than opium, partly on account of its religious associations, partly perhaps (and this is the reason he usually gives himself) because it stimulates whilst opium tends to indolence. Its cheapness also gives *ganja* an advantage as compared with opium, particularly of recent years. In Kamrup the example of the foreigners employed on the construction of the railway may have had some effect, as may also the influence of the numbers of up-country or Bengali *sanyasis* who pass through the district on the way to Kamakhya. One of these gentry in particular appears to have established a regular cult of *ganja* smokers in the neighbourhood of Nalbari.

31. The average consumption of *ganja* is probably not more than $\frac{1}{8}$ tola a day.

(ii) The extent to which a moderate limit of *ganja* consumption is exceeded and the classes amongst whom excess is prevalent.

Ganja smokers habitually smoke in company, and apparently 4 or 5 consumers smoking together consume not much more *ganja* than one person smoking alone. The economy of this arrangement has probably not been allowed for by those witnesses who place the average consumption as high as $\frac{1}{4}$ tola per day. If the average were as high as that, the habit would be no cheaper than the consumption of opium, and it is universally agreed that it is cheaper. Two or three *chillams* a day form a moderate consumption. At least $\frac{1}{8}$ tola goes to a *chillam*, but owing to the habit of smoking in company, a man does not necessarily consume $\frac{3}{8}$ tola in 3 smokes. As in the case of opium, excess is the exception, but there is a fair sprinkling of men who give themselves up entirely to the habit, abandon their occupation, and live a vagabond existence as a sort of *sanyasi* (vide witness No. 402). Witness No. 407 is a specimen in point. He professes to have taken to the habit under divine inspiration, and trusts to the labour of his eleven year old son to keep him in food and *ganja*. Another case is witness No. 279, who takes both opium and *ganja* and has a particularly flourishing crop of wild *bhang* round his house. Excess does not appear to be confined to any particular class.

32. The Committee think that the duty on *ganja* should be enhanced sufficiently

(iii) The desirability of further restrictions such as the reduction of the number of shops, the enhancement of duty, and the reduction of the maximum limit of possession.

to raise the retail price to 8 annas a tola. The following figures compare the retail prices prevalent in 1892-93, and in 1911-12. The figures for the earlier year are taken from Mr. J. D. Anderson's Memorandum on hemp drugs in Assam, prepared for the Indian Hemp Drug

Commission of 1894.

				1892-93.	1911-12.
				Per seer.	Per seer.
				Rs.	Rs.
Kamrup	...	...	...	20-95	25-31
Darrang	...	...	...	25-40	20-40
Nowgong	...	...	...	20-25	20-30
Sibsagar	...	...	...	30-35	20-40
Lakhimpur	...	...	...	30-40	20-40

The retail price has therefore not kept pace with the general rise in prices during the last twenty years, and the Committee thinks that it may safely be raised to the extent indicated above without danger of diverting consumption to the wild *bhang*.

33. The number of retail shops is comparatively small, and will not bear any considerable reduction. The maximum limit of possession seems unnecessarily high, and the Committee recommends that it be reduced to 5 tolas.

34. There is a mass of evidence to show that the smoking of *ganja* by boys is becoming a serious evil. The Committee therefore recommends that the minimum age for purchase be raised from 13 to 20, and that the supply of *ganja* to persons below that age, by others than vendors, be penalised.

35. Generally any restrictions placed on opium must be extended to *ganja* in order to prevent them merely diverting consumption from opium to *ganja*. This is recognised by most of the advocates of repressive measures in the case of opium. But the existence and use of the wild plant and the constant influx into the country of new consumers would render any system of registration of consumers less practicable in the case of *ganja* than in that of opium.

(iv) The reality of the supposed danger that further restrictions on *ganja* would lead to increased consumption of wild *bhang* and the extent to which at present wild *bhang* is consumed.

36. There is abundant evidence of the consumption of wild *bhang* by both Assamese and foreigners. A few

quotations are given:—

Witness No. 54.—A mauzadar of Kamrup—"A few people, when they cannot procure excise *ganja*, smoke wild *ganja*."

Witness No. 16.—Mr. D. P. Copeland, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Kamrup—"People smoke and drink the wild *bhang*."

Witness No. 23.—A mauzadar of Kamrup—"People smoke the mature leaves of wild *bhang* when they cannot afford to buy *ganja*."

Witness No. 140.—A shop-keeper in Darrang—"Wild *ganja* is smoked more than excise *ganja* in my village, as well as in other villages. All castes of Hindus, including Kalitas, Brahmins, and others smoke wild *ganja*. There is hardly any villager who does not smoke wild *bhang* in my village."

Witness No. 165.—A *gaonbura* of Darrang—"Some smoke excise *ganja* and some smoke wild *bhang*. I have smoked wild *bhang*."

Witness No. 169.—A *gaonbura* of Darrang—"All the people smoke wild *bhang* and occasionally they buy excise *ganja*. The *ganja* smokers are not poor because wild *bhang* costs them nothing. I smoke wild *bhang*."

Witness No. 182.—A mauzadar of Darrang—"The garden and *ex-garden* coolies consume more wild *bhang* than excise *ganja*."

Witness No. 216.—Cultivator, Lakhimpur—"Wild *bhang* is smoked by some young men in our village when they go to the jungle for fire-wood."

Witness No. 248.—*Goanbura*, Lakhimpur—"If they cannot get excise *ganja* some smoke wild *bhang*. I have smoked wild *bhang* when I had no money. We do not ordinarily smoke wild *bhang*, because it causes headache and constipation."

Witness No. 311.—Representative of the Jhanji *Praia Hitasadhini Sabha*, Sibsagar—"People learn the *ganja* habit by starting with wild *bhang*."

Witness No. 374.—*Gaonbura*, Sibsagar.—“There are 4 or 5 *ganja* consumers in my charge. They sometimes smoke wild *bhang* when they cannot get excise *ganja*.”

Witness No. 445.—Cultivator, Nowgong.—“When I have no money, I smoke wild *bhang*.”

Witness No. 462.—*Gaonbura* (a Nadiyal), Nowgong.—“There are about twenty men in my village who occasionally smoke *ganja*. When they go out to trade, they buy excise *ganja*; otherwise they collect and smoke wild *ganja*.”

The intoxication produced by the wild plant is said to be less deep and less regular than that afforded by *ganja*, and at the same time its use appears to be attended with a certain amount of discomfort in the shape of headache and inflammation of the eyes. All consumers, therefore, who can afford to do so, take the excise article, but apparently all but the well-to-do take the wild plant occasionally when they cannot get excise *ganja*; and the extent to which they take wild *bhang* varies inversely with the extent to which they can afford excise *ganja*. The Committee is satisfied that there is a very real danger that severe restrictions on *ganja* would lead to the greatly increased consumption of wild *bhang*, which, in their opinion, is not desirable.

37. The Committee thinks that village councils, if formed, might do a good deal in the way of restricting the growth of wild *bhang*. The plant appears to grow only in the neighbourhood of houses, and it would not be difficult for an authority situated in the village to reduce it to a minimum.

IV.—*Opium and ganja on tea gardens.*

38. Two hundred and one managers were good enough to send replies to the series of questions which the Committee circulated. Eighty-three of them report that consumption is on the increase in the case of *ganja*, and 53 in the case of opium. Prosperous times and higher earnings are sufficient to account for this extent of increase.

39. The number of managers who report 5 per cent. or more of their labour force to be opium consumers is only 24, and half of these consider that none of the consumers are injuriously affected by the drug. On most gardens therefore the opium question is not a serious one, but there are a few notable exceptions. The worst is apparently the Dijoo garden in North Lakhimpur, where Mr. Story, the Manager, reports that among the coolies who have been more than 2 or 3 years on the garden, about 98 per cent. of the adults and a number of the children take the drug. The garden has in former days been particularly subject to dysentery and cholera, and Mr. Story attributes the large extent of the vice to opium having been distributed years ago as a remedy. It is, however, not uncommon for coolies in unhealthy gardens to acquire the opium habit, becoming imbued with the Assamese belief in the medicinal virtues of the drug. Another garden on which large opium consumption and unhealthiness go hand in hand is the Namsang division of the Jaipur Tea Company. The manager says:—“This garden is on the Government ‘black list’ for sickness, and I put down the *whole* cause to opium.” The Committee is not in a position to contest this theory, but the course of events on other gardens suggests at any rate the possibility that the coolies originally took to opium owing to the unhealthiness of the neighbourhood. The Lakshmijan garden in Sibsagar, where also there is a fairly high opium consumption, is a quite recent clearing in dense forest on the lower slopes of the Naga Hills. The mauzadar of Makum speaking of the coolie population of Margherita says:—“The Sonthals, Bauris, and other coolies consume opium, because there is no good drinking water near the coal mines.” On all the gardens of high opium consumption the proportion of consumers who smoke the drug is large, and the proposed prohibition of smoking in company, which should be comparatively easy to enforce in the conditions obtaining on tea gardens, should provide a useful check to excess and to the acquisition of the vice by the younger generation. Mr. Story’s evidence shows the influence which a manager can exert in checking the habit. The four hundred new coolies who have joined since he has been manager have not taken to the drug, and by careful treatment about 50 of the older coolies have been cured of the habit. He says:—

“Some time ago I got out a medicine from home, which was supposed to cure the habit. We found it fairly successful, and Dr. McEwen has now instituted a treatment of his own. Coolies are fed up and given a tonic, and when they suffer from pain for want of the drug, they are given a sleeping draught. The dose of opium is

gradually reduced. In this way we have cured about seventy coolies, of whom 20 afterwards reverted and 50 have not reverted. The coolies are quite anxious to undergo treatment."

40. The nearest opium shop from Dijoo is at North Lakhimpur, 7 miles distant but many of the coolies resort to another shop 15 miles from the garden, partly because the drug is sold a little cheaper, there and partly because they get fish also there. It is evident therefore that the propinquity of an opium shop is not a factor of supreme importance in determining the amount of consumption on a garden.

41. As regards the imposition of restrictions, Mr. White of Kuturi in Nowgong notes as follows:—"Opium eating is very bad here, but to stop the shops or thin them out would only throw the patients back to *ganja*. This Government cannot stop, as the *jungly bhang* is everywhere to be found. To raise the price of opium is in my opinion the best method. Most coolies at present can only just afford to take their limit, and greater cost would necessarily mean curtailment, provided *maha'dars* are allowed to sell for *cash*; at present it is common to give credit; of this I am sure; proof, however, is very difficult to obtain."

42. Seventy-seven managers report *ganja* consumption by five per cent. of their force or over. Sixty-six out of the 77 report that none of the consumers, or an inconsiderable number, are injuriously affected. The manager of the Phukanbari in Lakhimpur states that a quarter of his force is injured by the drug, and the manager of Nudua in the same district reports that 75 per cent. of the consumers suffer from lung diseases, dysentery, or insanity. Mr. Elliot of Tawkak in Sibsagar says—"More harm is caused by *ganja* than by opium. Many cases of insanity have occurred here from excessive use. Users are susceptible to chest complaints, and it has no redeeming feature as preventive of any disease."

43. There is a general demand for further restrictive measures, such as reduction of shops, the enhancement of price, and the raising of the purchaser's minimum age. At the same time it is recognised by a great many managers that the existence and use of the wild *bhang* place a limit on the amount of restriction which can be exercised.

A. W. BOTHAM.

KALI PRASAD CHALIHA.

KUTUBUDDIN AHMAD.

RADHA NATH PHUKAN.

The 18th April 1913.

Extra Assistant Commissioner.

APPENDIX I.

Consumption of Opium from 1878-79 to 1911-12.

	1878-79.	1879-80.	1880-81.	1891-82.	1892-83.	1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.
Kamrup	161 27	234 17	189 25	246 18	227 4	172 31	173 38	171 38	169 30	171 10	159 3	170 4
Darrang	214 15	275 8	305 0	247 2	235 38	205 36	203 16	203 34	226 20	209 14	202 23	207 16
Nowgong	320 07	179 5	272 16	147 3	250 13	212 7	246 2	243 3	223 0	214 29	221 20	242 38
Sibsagar	465 29	463 24	484 0	486 24	490 22	401 19	407 2	397 37	396 37	380 10	380 20	397 19
Lakhimpur	357 25	329 5	355 33	336 27	422 13	303 6	342 38	315 37	333 8	332 18	332 1	358 37
Total	1,519 27	1,481 19	1,557 4	1,463 34	1,625 38	1,295 19	1,373 16	1,332 29	1,329 10	1,308 3	1,295 27	1,376 25
Treasury price per seer	Rs. a. 24 0	Rs. a. 26 0	Rs. a. 26 0	Rs. a. 26 0	Rs. a. 26 0	Rs. a. 32 0	Rs. a. 32 0	Rs. a. 32 0	Rs. a. 32 0	Rs. a. 32 0	Rs. a. 32 0	Rs. a. 32 0
Total number of opium shops in the five districts.	Nos. 1,116	Nos. 1,152	Nos. 1,179	Nos. 1,179	Nos. 1,179	Nos. 1,141	Nos. 1,108	Nos. 1,088	Nos. 1,017	Nos. 917	Nos. 850	Nos. 855

APPENDIX I—contd.

Consumption of Opium from 1878-79 to 1911-12.

	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.	1894-95.	1895-96.	1896-97.	1897-98.	1898-99.	1899-1900.	1900-01.	1901-02.
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.
Kamrup	145 25	154 4	150 17	154 5	147 11	145 3	142 28	131 10	129 5	121 3	117 21	108 5
Darrung	188 27	178 2	200 14	208 3	194 35	178 31	180 13	193 17	180 25	178 33	180 38	155 1
Nowgong	202 27	231 9	211 13	203 26	209 18	213 20	200 3	184 35	175 26	168 18	173 11	166 28
Sibsagar	357 21	355 25	351 3	360 13	365 34	370 6	348 34	371 34	363 18	368 22	352 36	342 3
* Portion of Naga Hills transferred to Sibsa- gar and Nowgong in 1899-1900.												
Lakhimpur	313 34	353 13	329 27	352 37	355 30	355 31	345 3	242 0	387 23	374 7	376 23	354 17
Total	1,208 14	1,272 13	1,242 34	1,279 4	1,263 8	1,263 11	1,217 1	1,928 16	1,133 17	1,211 8	1,201 9	1,126 14
Treasury price per seer ...	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0
Total number of opium shops in the five districts.	Nos. 829	Nos. 843	Nos. 760	Nos. 765	Nos. 721	Nos. 7,023	Nos. 706	Nos. 662	Nos. 662	Nos. 665	Nos. 674	Nos. 655

* Separate figures not being available, it has been assumed that consumption in the remainder of the Naga Hills was throughout the same as the average of the five years following the transfer.

APPENDIX I—concl'd.

Consumption of Opium from 1878-79 to 1911-12.

				1902-03.	1903-04.	1904-05.	1905-06.	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.
				26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
				Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.
Kamrup	...	...	...	117 10	126 29	122 32	130 13	163 20	186 33	176 38	143 32	138 4	135 22
Darrang	...	...	...	170 20	181 24	177 36	187 20	203 5	219 21	222 5	187 7	190 2	187 32
Nowgong	...	...	...	190 24	200 2	225 17	231 0	272 28	301 1	278 1	223 0	239 6	231 9
Sibsagar	...	...	...	348 0	361 20	367 31	374 5	385 31	453 5	420 2	404 4	406 35	412 11
Lakhimpur	...	...	...	356 33	373 22	382 16	398 2	396 26	384 26	392 9	434 37	416 28	427 30
Total	...	...	...	1,183 7	1,243 17	1,276 12	1,321 0	1,420 30	1,550 6	1,499 15	1,393 0	1,390 35	1,394 22
Treasury price per seer	...	...	...	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 37 0	Rs. a. 40 0	Rs. a. 40 0	Rs. a. 40 0
Total number of opium shops in the five districts	...	...	...	Nos. 685	Nos. 675	Nos. 665	Nos. 657	Nos. 632	Nos. 537	Nos. 427	Nos. 381	Nos. 355	Nos. 347

APPENDIX II,

Opium Shops.

—		1878-79.	1879-80.	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.	1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Kamrup	... ..	200	200	210	210	210	201	200	203	203	187	183	133
Darrang	... ..	221	221	223	223	223	203	195	165	159	149	143	144
Nowgong	... ..	232	259	263	263	263	263	264	262	214	203	202	209
Sibsagar	... ..	298	301	305	305	304	300	276	284	268	213	206	204
Lakhimpur	... ..	165	171	178	178	179	174	173	174	173	165	166	165
—		1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.	1894-95.	1895-96.	1896-97.	1897-98.	1898-99.	1899-00.	1900-01.	1901-02.
—		14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Kamrup	... ..	124	128	117	120	116	120	113	109	107	104	110	109
Darrang	... ..	140	142	126	123	98	99	102	87	100	102	101	100
Nowgong	... ..	193	206	177	166	171	173	173	148	134	132	144	149
Sibsagar	... ..	202	203	190	189	190	185	173	175	181	187	178	189
Lakhimpur	... ..	170	164	150	147	146	146	145	143	140	140	141	133

APPENDIX II—concl'd.

Opium Shops.

					1902-03.	1903-04.	1904-05.	1905-06.	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.
					26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
Kamrup	...	...	...	...	112	112	102	96	92	87	71	58	55	55
Darrang	...	...	...	...	100	100	101	98	89	81	68	56	55	55
Nowgong	...	...	...	...	144	134	140	137	127	111	93	92	82	74
Sibsagar	...	...	...	...	189	186	182	186	190	164	135	119	108	108
Lakhimpur	...	...	...	...	140	143	140	140	134	94	6	56	55	55

APPENDIX III.

Consumption of Ganja from 1878-79 to 1911-12.

	1878-79.	1879-80.	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.	1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.
Kamrup	39 12	37 11	43 24	31 38	29 35	46 15	55 11	28 17	61 5	74 8	41 8	35 22
Darrang	18 4	16 15	16 23	15 35	14 7	13 20	13 6	12 27	14 14	12 33	14 3	16 1
Nowgong	4 7	1 31	2 37	4 3	6 10	10 20	8 36	7 37	7 23	9 9	11 23	11 14
Sibsagar	3 10	3 7	16 31	20 6	20 23	24 4	21 9	24 9	28 35	29 28	38 36	44 17
Lakhimpur	12 19	8 36	9 29	10 12	14 29	12 21	12 21	10 18	17 38	26 13	23 39	36 30
Total	77 12	67 20	89 24	82 14	85 24	107 0	111 3	83 23	129 35	152 11	139 29	144 1 ₄
Rate of duty per seer ...	Rs. 3-8 to 4-0.	Rs. 3-8 to 4-0.	Rs. 3-8 to 4-0.	Rs. 3-8 to 4-0.	Rs. 3-8 to 4-0.	Rs. 4-8 & 5-0.	Rs. 4-8 & 5-0.	Rs. 4-8 & 5-0.	Rs. 4-8 & 5-0.	Rs. 4-8 & 5-0.	Rs. 4-8, 6-4 & 6-8.	Rs. 4-8, 6-4 & 6-8.
	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.
Total number of ganja shops in the five districts.	39	39	43	43	45	67	58	71	76	81	81	83

APPENDIX III—contd.

Consumption of Ganja from 1878-79 to 1911-12.

	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.	1894-95.	1895-96.	1896-97.	1897-98.	1898-99.	1899-1900.	1900-01.
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.
Kamrup	38 24	62 9	49 32	61 27	52 0	68 35	41 20	65 27	55 27	46 14	50 29
Darrang	16 0	12 8	12 17	13 1	12 2	12 20	15 24	14 25	16 23	16 30	15 27
Nowgong	12 17	10 16	15 37	14 6	15 13	17 1	20 9	18 31	24 12	21 19	19 18
Sibsagar	41 15	47 1	51 26	59 19	48 13	57 37	66 18	69 34	65 34	66 18	79 17
Lakhimpur	42 2	41 15	34 17	37 21	33 12	40 20	47 24	54 29	56 0	55 2	58 14
Total	150 13	173 9	164 9	185 34	166 0	198 33	191 15	223 26	218 16	206 3	223 25
Rate of duty per seer	Rs. 4-8, 6-4, & 7-0	Rs. 5-0, 6-4, & 7-0	Rs. 5-0, 6-4, & 7-0	Rs. 6-0, 7-4, & 8-0	Rs. 6, 7-4, & 8-0	Rs. 6-0, 7-4, & 8-0	Rs. 6-0, 7-4, & 8-0	Rs. 6-0, 7-4, & 8-0	Rs. 6-0, 7-4, & 8-0	Rs. 6-0, 7-4, 7-8, & 9-0	Rs. 6-0, 7-4, 7-8, & 9-0
	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.
Total number of ganja shops in the five districts.	85	85	83	86	89	89	93	94	108	109	112

APPENDIX III—concl'd.

Consumption of Ganja from 1878-79 to 1911-12.

				1 01-02.	1902-03.	1903-04.	1904-05.	1905-06.	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.
				25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
				Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.	Mds. srs.
Kamrup	...	...	...	37 32	46 7	45 20	67 23	79 24	75 16	92 2	111 2	125 31	117 37	113 23
Darrang	...	...	...	13 31	18 36	20 22	21 14	22 17	18 7	19 34	26 28	27 19	8 19	30 37
Nowgong	...	...	...	19 32	26 19	22 10	23 14	22 1	19 4	20 7	17 9	25 0	30 35	29 36
Sibsagar	...	...	...	73 1	81 23	75 39	118 17	103 22	67 25	70 5	91 22	113 39	129 25	130 16
Lakhimpur	...	...	...	55 8	33 12	52 8	52 2	59 33	54 17	46 23	54 25	59 27	66 21	70 27
Total	...	...	...	199 24	206 17	216 19	282 35	287 17	234 29	248 31	301 6	351 36	373 17	375 19
Rate of duty per seer	...	...	...	Rs. 6-0, 7-4, 7-8, and 9-0.	Rs. 6-0, 7-4, 7-8, and 9-0.	Rs. 6-0, 7-4, 7-8, and 9-0.	Rs. 6-0, 7-4, 7-8, and 9-0.	Rs. 11	Rs. 11	Rs. 11	Rs. 11	Rs. 11	Rs. 11	Rs. 11
				Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.
Total number of ganja shops in the five districts.				113	114	114	113	110	109	107	104	98	98	93

APPENDIX IV.

Ganja Shops.

				1878-79.	1879-80.	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.	1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.
1				2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Kamrup	...	...	...	16	14	18	18	18	38	28	24	26	27	27
Darrang	...	...	...	7	7	7	7	17	8	10	11	11	11	10
Nowgong	...	...	...	3	3	5	4	5	5	6	6	5	6	6
Sibsagar	...	...	...	5	5	8	8	8	8	9	20	18	21	22
Lakhimpur	...	...	...	8	6	5	6	7	8	10	10	16	16	16
				1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.	1894-95.	1895-96.	1896-97.	1897-98.	1898-99.	1899-1900.
				13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Kamrup	...	...	...	27	28	28	27	28	28	28	28	26	31	28
Darrang	...	...	...	10	10	11	11	10	11	11	11	11	11	11
Nowgong	...	...	...	7	8	7	8	11	12	13	13	12	15	14
Sibsagar	...	...	...	23	23	23	21	21	21	21	25	28	33	37
Lakhimpur	...	...	...	16	16	16	16	16	17	16	16	17	18	19

APPENDIX IV—concl.

Ganja Shops.

	1900-01.	1901-02.	1902-03.	1903-04.	1904-05.	1905-06.	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
Kamrup	31	31	31	31	31	28	27	27	27	24	23	23
Darrang	11	11	12	12	11	11	11	11	11	10	10	10
Nowgong	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	12	11	11	11	11
Sibsagar	34	37	37	37	37	37	37	37	36	36	36	34
Lakhimpur	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	19	17	18	15

APPENDIX V.

Population.

	1881.			1891.			1901.			1911.		
	Indigenous.	Foreign.	Total.	Indigenous.	Foreign.	Total.	Indigenous.	Foreign.	Total.	Indigenous.	Foreign.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Kamrup	6,39,165	5,795	6,44,960	6,22,317	11,932	6,34,249	5,72,883	16,304	5,89,187	6,39,421	28,407	6,67,828
Darrang	2,52,994	20,339	2,73,333	2,55,587	52,177	307,761	2,34,381	1,02,932	3,37,313	2,32,599	1,44,715	3,77,314
Nowgong	3,01,563	9,016	3,10,579	3,23,910	20,231	3,44,141	2,26,138	35,022	2,61,160	2,58,682	44,914	3,03,596
Sibsagar	3,18,117	52,157	3,70,274	3,43,120	1,14,154	4,57,274	4,01,129	1,96,840	5,97,969	4,48,031	2,42,268	6,90,299
Lakhimpur	1,38,167	41,726	1,79,893	1,57,495	96,553	2,54,053	1,77,885	1,93,511	3,71,396	1,93,279	2,75,710	4,68,989
Total	16,50,006	1,29,033	17,79,039	17,02,429	2,95,052	19,97,478	16,12,416	5,44,609	21,57,025	17,72,012	7,36,014	25,08,026

Note.—These figures have been compiled from the 'Language' Tables of the Census Reports.